

ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

BY

COLONEL VLADIMIR BARCA
Czech Air Force

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A:

Approved for Public Release.
Distribution is Unlimited.

USAWC CLASS OF 2010

Only a work of the United States Government is not subject to copyright. Based upon the nature of a particular student-author's employment, a paper may not be a work of the United States Government and may, in fact, be protected by copyright.

This SRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Strategic Studies Degree. The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.



U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, PA 17013-5050

The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle State Association of Colleges and Schools, 3624 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 662-5606. The Commission on Higher Education is an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE				Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.					
1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 12-03-2010		2. REPORT TYPE Strategy Research Project		3. DATES COVERED (From - To)	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE Islamic Extremism in the Czech Republic				5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
				5b. GRANT NUMBER	
				5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S) Colonel Vladimír Barca				5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
				5e. TASK NUMBER	
				5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Professor Harry A. Tomlin Advanced Strategic Art Program (ASAP)				8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) U.S. Army War College 122 Forbes Avenue Carlisle, PA 17013				10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
				11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Distribution A: Unlimited					
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES Only a work of the United States Government is not subject to copyright. Based upon the nature of a particular student-author's employment, a paper may not be a work of the United States Government and may, in fact, be protected by copyright.					
14. ABSTRACT The Czech Republic, like other post-communist countries in Central Europe, has not faced Islamic extremism to the same extent as its Western European counterparts. For a country otherwise at the center of Europe and the European idea, why in this respect is the Czech Republic virtually unique in the European Union? Is the absence of Islamic extremism the result of deliberate Czech policies or other factors? Czech officials have long been studying radical Islam, its gradual but steady ascent in Europe and the manifest threat and risks it poses. As a member of NATO and the EU since 1999 and 2004 respectively, the threat to the Czech Republic is genuine. Moreover, although the absence of physical borders in the EU's Shengen zone theoretically enables extremist Islamic groups to move freely throughout the EU, this phenomenon has to date been surprisingly absent in the Czech Republic. This Strategic Research Project (SRP) identifies potential bases of Islamic extremism in the Czech Republic, examines specific plausible threats and risks, and explores whether or not the Czech Republic is in fact virtually unique in Europe in hosting few, if any, Islamic extremists.					
15. SUBJECT TERMS Islamic Fundamentalism, Islamism, Muslims					
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UNLIMITED	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 30	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON
a. REPORT UNCLASSIFIED	b. ABSTRACT UNCLASSIFIED	c. THIS PAGE UNCLASSIFIED			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (include area code)

USAWC STRATEGY RESEARCH PROJECT

ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

by

Colonel Vladimír Barca
Czech Air Force

Professor Harry A. Tomlin
Project Adviser

This SRP is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Strategic Studies Degree. The U.S. Army War College is accredited by the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools, 3624 Market Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104, (215) 662-5606. The Commission on Higher Education is an institutional accrediting agency recognized by the U.S. Secretary of Education and the Council for Higher Education Accreditation.

Only a work of the United States Government is not subject to copyright. Based upon the nature of a particular student-author's employment, a paper may not be a work of the United States Government and may, in fact, be protected by copyright.

The views expressed in this student academic research paper are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Colonel Vladimír Barca
TITLE: Islamic Extremism in the Czech Republic
FORMAT: Strategy Research Project
DATE: 12 March 2010 WORD COUNT: 6,113 PAGES: 30
KEY TERMS: Islamic Fundamentalism, Islamism, Muslims
CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

The Czech Republic, like other post-communist countries in Central Europe, has not faced Islamic extremism to the same extent as its Western European counterparts. For a country otherwise at the center of Europe and the European idea, why in this respect is the Czech Republic virtually unique in the European Union? Is the absence of Islamic extremism the result of deliberate Czech policies or other factors? Czech officials have long been studying radical Islam, its gradual but steady ascent in Europe and the manifest threat and risks it poses. As a member of NATO and the EU since 1999 and 2004 respectively, the threat to the Czech Republic is genuine. Moreover, although the absence of physical borders in the EU's Shengen zone theoretically enables extremist Islamic groups to move freely throughout the EU, this phenomenon has to date been surprisingly absent in the Czech Republic. This Strategic Research Project (SRP) identifies potential bases of Islamic extremism in the Czech Republic, examines specific plausible threats and risks, and explores whether or not the Czech Republic is in fact virtually unique in Europe in hosting few, if any, Islamic extremists.

ISLAMIC EXTREMISM IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Currently, within the territory of the Czech Republic there is no indication that there is an immediate threat of increasing the incidence of terrorism. But it would be wrong to consider this situation to be permanent.

—Kružík Oldřich¹

European events including the Madrid and London terrorist attacks have dramatically changed the way Central Europeans perceive issues related to Islam and Muslims. The topic of Islam in Europe is a key security issue impacting the expansion of the European Union and even the viability of the European Union itself. The Czech Republic does not consider Islam as a direct threat to Europe at this time and unequivocally supports the further expansion of the European Union. Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zdeněk Pojar, recently stated:

Radical Islam, the totalitarian ideology of Islamism, whose main enemy is human freedom, is a strong threat to the West. For us in Europe it is important to realize that today's radical Islamism ideologist's goal is not to change the Middle Eastern regimes, and take charge of power in the country of origin, but direct conflict with the West.²

The term Islamic extremism is often used as a synonym for the notion of Islamism, which is defined as the radical utilization of fundamentalist Islamic religious arguments to justify political objectives. The foremost Czech expert on Islam, Luboš Kropáček uses both, Islamic extremism and Islamism with different meanings and distinguishes these from Islamic fundamentalism.³ According to Kropáček, Islamic fundamentalism is based on a stark conviction regarding the proprietorship of the truth. It is characterized by unyielding, hatred of the infidel and hard heartedness. It expediently selects some of the topics and symbols from the Quran. This moral-legal standpoint is strongly critical of Western cultural influences and moves against those who embrace a different opinion. Islamic fundamentalism oscillates between truly

religious and radical cultural expressions with an inclination to politicize. Islamism can be viewed as a political stream that is formed within the ideological realm of Islamic fundamentalism with the social objective of establishing a totalitarian Islamic order. The problem for Western Europe is based on this: Islamic fundamentalism since the beginning of the 1990s has embraced a solely ideological form. It is a radical and utopist ideology and totalitarian in nature. Similar to communism or fascism in many respects, the main protagonists are characteristically well-educated and well-informed.

Pan-Islamism or neo-fundamentalism is a combination of technical modernity, globalization and denial of a culture. Traditional and national culture, including that of Islamic nations, is perceived by neo-fundamentalists in a very negative light. Neo-fundamentalists oppose the existence of different schools of thought and consider themselves, by definition, to be the only “true Muslims.”⁴

It is no coincidence that the attitudes of the followers of Taliban, Saudi-Arabia’s Wahhabists, or bin Laden’s adherents are openly hostile to traditional Islamic culture.⁵ Islamists who profess universal Islam do not turn attention towards any particular society culture. On the contrary, they target deliberately individuals who have doubts about faith and identity. They seek out those Muslims who cannot identify with any particular place or who embrace a sense of national awareness. They are successful among educated middle class people as well as among uneducated youth from suburban ghettos.⁶ Islamic extremism and terrorism are extreme variations of Islamism that actually court violence. In the traditional Islamic view this is a heretic deviation, a modern extremist view oriented towards sectarianism and the forcible advancement of neo-fundamentalist Islamic thought.

According to that division an objection must be raised with respect to the most widespread theory of extremism; it is defined in principle as the antithesis of a democratic constitutional state. If the aim of Islamism is the establishment of a non-democratic, theocratic regime, and this trend is accompanied by an irreconcilable and fundamentalist posture, it is already about extremism. Violence and terrorism are plausible and relatively frequent expressions of Islamic extremism, but they are not required methods for advancing the political strategy.⁷

From the perspective of typology it is problematic to categorize Islamism as falling to the right or left of the spectrum, similar to ethnic or ecological extremism. In this case we have to apply a specific category of religious extremism.

Religious extremism can be generally defined as religiously motivated antidemocratic attitudes and activities oriented for setting up or maintaining the theocratic regime, potentially aimed at damaging democratic interests and fundamental human rights.⁸

In the framework of religious extremism there are two basic categories. The first is “normal” religious extremism, represented by segments with antidemocratic goals within the larger world religion, which works in concord with the principles, values and interests of democratic countries. This is typical for Islamic, Protestant or Catholic extremism, which exist alongside the main and largely tolerant religious streams. The second category is radical religious extremism represented by groups, cults, sects, and denominations, which for religious reasons act in principal against any democratic establishment. Their activities frequently violate basic human rights. They often have ambitions to overthrow the established political order. Nothing precludes religious extremism from linking up with other extremist movements to accomplish their goals or utilizing non-extremist religious ideas in different extremist ideology.⁹

Historical Background

Generally speaking people in the Czech Republic are predominantly anti-clergy and atheistic although a small segment of the population is Catholic. Czech ethnic Muslims, however, have a relatively long tradition which extends to the beginning of the 20th century. The first Czech contacts with Islam occurred in the Middle-Ages around end of the 15th century. Since the time of the Crusades, the Czech people have held an inaccurate and very often inexplicable apprehension about Islam. During the Middle – Ages, Czech voyagers who visited Islamic countries referred to Islam somewhat positively, although the preponderance of evidence showed great religious rivalry and prejudices.¹⁰

In 1934 the Muslim Religious Community for Czechoslovakia was established with the help of Czech converts, foreign Islamic institutions as well as some embassies of Muslim states. This organization was led by a Czech journalist Mohamed Allah Brikcius.¹¹ This community was also acknowledged by the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia authorities and it functioned until the advent of Communism in Czechoslovakia in 1948. With the arrival of Communism, the official activities of the Muslim Religious Community for Czechoslovakia were suspended.

During the communist regime, somewhat surprisingly, unofficial activities of the Muslim Religious Community were not stopped, although a small segment of the group collaborated with the Germans during the occupation of Czechoslovakia. In view of the good relations between communist Czechoslovakia and certain Muslim countries with left-wing regimes, such as Afghanistan, Lebanon, Libya and Syria, it was problematic for the Communists to eliminate the Islamic community, thus its unofficial existence was tolerated. A request for reinstatement of recognition was submitted to the government in

1968, but before the application could be acted on, invasion by and, occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Armies of the Warsaw Pact occurred.

After 1989, activity of Czech Muslims intensified. Interest in Islam and the Muslim world, associated with the support of Muslim objectives, has been aroused even within a small portion of non-Islamic Czech youth. During the 1990s, the Muslims of Czech nationality linked with the re-settled and newly arrived Muslims of other nationalities within the Czech Republic.

Friendly business contacts between the Czechoslovak Communist regime and Muslim countries were purposely developed during the Cold War era, particularly among countries with a relatively intense left-wing orientation. This cooperation meant that Czechoslovakia hosted a large number of foreign students and workers from these countries. One specific area of cooperation was the combat training of people from third world countries in special training facilities in Czechoslovakia. Some of these individuals married Czech citizens and remained in Czech territory, still others settled within Czech borders in response to jobs and educational opportunities. Although these newcomers belonged primarily to Marxist forces, particularly true of Afghans, Lebanese, Syrians and Libyans, they continued to practice the Muslim faith. Finally, in 2004 an umbrella organization of Czech Muslims was legally recognized under the name: Association of the Muslim's Religious Communities (AMRC).¹² The long-time Chairman of the AMRC¹³ was Professor Muhammad Ali Šilhavý.¹⁴ There are other Muslim organizations, but they do not have the influence and power accorded to the AMRC.

Muslims in the Czech Republic Today

The Czech Republic had 10.5 million citizens as of 30 September 2009. The populace is ethnically divided as follows: Czech (9.6 million); Slovak (193,000); Roma

(200,000); Silesian (11,000); Polish (52,000); German (39,000); Ukrainian (22,000); and Vietnamese (40,000).¹⁵ The last census conducted by the Czech Statistical Office in 2001 showed that religiously the population of the Czech Republic is predominantly Roman Catholic (26.8%) and a large proportion of the population are atheists, agnostics or non-believers (59%). Muslims in the Czech Republic represent a much smaller community than in some other Western European countries: The UK: 2 million; France: 5-6 million; Germany: 3 million; Italy and the Netherlands: 1 million; Spain and Austria: 0.5 million.¹⁶ The estimated current Muslim population in the Czech Republic is between 15,000 and 20,000 people although only about 400 people are Czech nationals. The remainder are students, businessmen, foreign embassy staffs, economic and political refugees, or graduates of Czech universities who have permanently settled in the Czech Republic. The exact number of Muslim followers cannot be determined accurately because the numbers are constantly fluctuating and Islam is designated by the category “other religions” in the official statistics.¹⁷ The ethnic composition of the Czech Muslim community is extremely varied, ranging demographically from the Caucasus, Kurds and Arabs to Muslims from Sub-Saharan Africa. The number of Muslims in the Czech Republic is certainly not insignificant; nevertheless, the Muslim community is considerably divided territorially, politically and religiously. The AMRC also undertakes certain ecumenical efforts in order to improve a mutual understanding between Christians and Muslims. Two periodicals written in the Czech language, the journal, *Voice of the Muslim's Religious Communities* and the women's magazine *Al-Manára*, are published in the Czech Republic. Information in Czech is also available on different websites.¹⁸ Most of the Czech Muslim websites and contributions promote tolerance and

understanding. They emphasize that Christianity, Islam and Judaism share a principal kinship with a common origin and scriptural character of tradition and, moreover, better understanding of diverse cultures would enable Czech society to embrace global opportunities.¹⁹

The Muslim organizations in the Czech Republic focus almost exclusively on religious life. They organize and host lectures and exhibitions on the various aspects of Islam including topics like Islam's relationship to democracy and human rights. They also express the Muslim community's view on important events related to Islam. Czech Muslims condemned the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001; however they avoided open denouncement of Palestinian Muslims' suicide bomber attacks as occurred in Israel and Gaza strip.

Representatives of Muslim communities have entered the realm of active political negotiations only to arrange for the official registration of new Islamic clubs and associations in order to establish their legal recognition. These activities were important in the 1990s after the collapse of the Communist regime and served to re-invigorate the spiritual life of the Muslim community in the Czech Republic.

Potential Foundation for Islamic Extremism in the Czech Republic

Identifying the exact number of European Islamic extremists is impossible because no formal data exist. Equally unclear is the exact Muslim population in Europe. Some representatives of the European Islamic community estimate that up to 20 million Muslims live in the various countries of the European Union.

When researching Islamic extremism it is important to note that only a very small portion of Muslims take an antidemocratic posture. European scholars are trying to discover how many potential extremists are present in the populace as a whole. The

Czech Military Intelligence has conducted a study in which they used a mathematical formula borrowed from the French Intelligence services. According to this formula 5% of all the Muslim population is fundamentalist and of this 3% may be considered as potentially dangerous extremists. As the Czech Republic has between 15,000 to 20,000 Muslims, the number of potentially dangerous Islamic extremists in the Czech Republic is between 22 and 30.²⁰

In Europe immigration has created, largely on the margins of society in inner cities or suburbs, a space of social exclusion populated by unemployed youth of Muslim origin.²¹ Western Europe has a sobering problem of radicalization of Muslim youth. The second and third generation Muslim immigrants oppose assimilation and, consequently, they are inclined to attack Western political and cultural systems. Such delinquency has often been presented as a symptom of the breakdown of social integration, which is true - unemployment and racism have convinced many second generation youngsters that, they are not welcomed.²² In Western European countries the immigration assimilation levels of are very low, unlike the level of assimilation within the Czech Republic.

The recruits of the Islamic extremist groups like Al-Qaeda in Western Europe tended to suffer from feelings of displacement and loss of identity as a common denominator. Islam provides them with a sense of unity and elements of commonality.²³ This is a vital insight. To assume that the main reason why some Muslims turn to extremist Islam is primarily due to poverty is erroneous. The economic backgrounds of Muslims in Europe, as in other parts of the world unambiguously demonstrate, that the common denominator of Islamic extremism is not poverty but rather problems with identity. Therefore, prosperity itself does not guarantee enfeeblement of Islamic

extremism. The Czech Republic has developed an assimilation plan for non-native Czech citizens. The plan is annually assessed by the Czech Government.²⁴ It cannot be ruled out that in the case of increasing numbers of Muslim immigrants, who would be isolated and handicapped in comparison with the majority of the population, could exhibit the same criminal tendencies as are seen elsewhere in Western Europe. They could try to justify their illegal behavior by pleading Muslim solidarity.²⁵

Generally speaking, Muslims in the Czech Republic endeavor to live in comfortable coexistence with the majority non-Muslim population. For the most part they respect the political culture of the host or new home country. Only a very small portion of Muslims are supportive of Islamic extremist beliefs and associated terrorist methods to promote change. It would therefore be fallacious to consider any current Muslim organization in the Czech Republic as extremist or potentially terroristic.

Czech Muslims ordinarily embrace a different political view than the official foreign policy of the Czech Republic, NATO and EU with regards to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict as well as the role of the USA in world affairs. In personal interviews some Czech Muslims express sympathy for Palestinian assassins in Israel, they present miscellaneous conspiracy theories relating to 9/11 and the role of MOSSAD and the CIA in such events. They hope for a quick and substantial diminishment of the global impact of the United States in world politics, citing as evidence the fall of the Roman or the British Empires. In their interpretation the next great power is the Muslim world with its value system. They do not criticize the United States for its democratic nature, although they do express doubts about the long term viability of its democracy. Rather, the

United States is criticized for its alleged illegitimate promotion of its own global power interests and blanket support for Israel.

In these specific ways, Islam influences domestic Czech left-wing and right-wing political extremists. Right-wing political extremists from the nationalism perspective principally disapprove of the immigration and activities of “Arabic criminals and terrorists.”²⁶ Paradoxically, they have, along with Islamists, common enemies in Israel and the USA’s Jewish population. The right-wing extremists can also find historical rationalization in the former collaboration of a small segment of Czech Muslims with the Germans during the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and also in the activities of Muslim SS divisions during World War II in the Balkans. In spite of clergy resistance to Islam, there is perceptible admiration on the part of the Czech’s Catholic fundamentalists for the authority, dogmatism, and role of religion in the political life of the Islamic regime. For fundamentalist Czech Catholics working within the “decadent” Western liberalism makes a “God first” system an unattainable ideal.

Even parts of the ultra left-wing, with either communist or anarchistic operating systems, consider the Islamists to be a lesser evil than American Imperialism and Israeli Zionism. They try to portray Islamic terrorists as victims of the exploitation of poor countries by the United States and its trading partners in the pursuit of global capitalism. In 1990 Muammar Kaddafi’s *Green Book* was published in the Czech Republic. Despite this openness, direct support of the Islamic extremists and terrorists is implausible; on the contrary it is likely to fuel the conflicts with them.

If the Czech social net cannot accommodate a rapid influx of Muslim immigrants, if it occurred it could cause radicalization particularly among young Muslims on the

street. As in Western Europe these radicalized youth could wage violent fights with right-wing extremists or criminal gangs of other ethnic groups. The result could be the creation of Islamic terrorist structures in the Czech Republic that could be easily connected with the global terrorist network, which could be strengthened in its fight by hatred propaganda from a wider spectrum of international Islamic organizations.²⁷

Threats and Risks Resulting from Islamic Extremism in the Czech Republic

The Czech Republic is considered by Islamic extremists as being of considerably lesser importance than countries such as the United States of America, France, or Germany. These countries are significantly engaged in the Islamic world and thus they arouse the hatred of the Islamic extremists. Nevertheless, there are some factors which have the potential to mobilize segments of the Islamist population against Czech interests. The Czech Republic became a member of NATO on 12 March 1999. Czech Armed Forces involvement in NATO operations in Afghanistan may make the Czech Republic a target of possible terrorist acts within Czech territory and /or attacks against our deployed troops. Czech territory also hosts Radio Free Europe, which broadcasts democratic information to many countries, including Islamic ones. These broadcasts may provide a motive for the Islamic terrorists to conduct an attack against the Radio Free Europe station or execute hostile acts against the Czech citizens.

Czechoslovakia, and later after 1989, the Czech Republic is a significant ally of Israel. Among the majority of the Czech intellectuals, within the Czech media and also amongst the general public, there exists great sympathy towards Jewish culture and policy. Currently 15,000 ethnic Jews live²⁸ in the Czech Republic and of this 4000 people claim the Jewish creed and are organized in Jewish communities.²⁹ There are ten Jewish communities, seven in Bohemia and three in Moravia, united in the

Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic.³⁰ Some prominent politicians, artists, and academics are of Jewish descent. There are also outstanding Jewish historical sites and flourishing Jewish organizations within the Czech Republic. A small percentage of the Jewish population has negative views of Muslims, Arabs, and Palestinians; and an even smaller subset of that population hold strong anti-Semitic attitudes.

These factors might provoke Islamic extremists to pursue dangerous and potentially violent activities in Czech territory. The Czech Republic as a Central European communication node could become a sort of logistical base to support Islamists, including terrorists, against US or Israeli targets in Europe. In such a scenario, terrorists might accomplish a short “business” trip within the territory of the Czech Republic. In neighboring Germany and Austria cells of many terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaeda, are active. The growing Muslim community within the Czech Republic, and in particular its extremist segment, could be potentially utilized by these terrorist cells in the future. Similar to Al-Qaeda’s strategy in Western Europe, this possible scenario is based on the activation of well dispersed, mutually-independent, sleeper cells committed to a specific goal. The Czech Republic has embassies and other institutions in pro-Western Muslim countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia which might also be targeted by militant Islamists. In both instances for extensive terrorist action, they will also need support of Islamic extremists within Czech territory.

Besides the already noted unremitting factors, which have the possibility to cause escalation of transient terrorism, a causal agent for temporary escalation could be

actions of the Czech Armed Forces, due to operations that may be construed as being against Islamic interests. Exceptionally anti-Islamic statements of a Czech Politician or other eminent individual, or extraordinarily provocative programming on Radio Free Europe could lead to deterioration of the security situation in the Czech Republic. Threats or changes in the status quo could also emerge in response to ad hoc situations, which could raise the threat of Islamic activities against the Czech Republic. Organizing international conferences within Czech territory such as NATO and EU summits, the detainment of an Islamic terrorist, or criminal prosecution of Muslims, could all motivate an Islamic response with the potential to trigger a thirst for vengeance.³¹

Potential Islamic extremist threats from inside the Czech Muslim community are very low at this time, as demonstrated by the Ministry of the Interior document “Strategy for Fighting Extremism.”³² Islamic extremism is not mentioned, although different kinds of left or right wing political extremism are.³³ Islamic extremism is also not mentioned in the annual report on extremism in the Czech Republic.³⁴ These documents clearly suggest that there is no evidence to date to suggest the presence of Islamic extremism in the Czech Republic. Czech security services also closely inspect suspicious logistic and financial transactions, which might indicate terrorist activities. The Security Information Service (BIS) 2008 annual report stated:

Financing and logistic support are indispensable prerequisites of the existence and operations of terrorist groups. They continue to be one of the principal priorities of the fight against terrorism. However, no such activities were identified in the territory of the Czech Republic in 2008.³⁵

More than 20 years after the fall of the Communist regime in the Czech Republic, it is certain that the percentage of the population having realistic information about the

Muslim community has increased significantly. After the Velvet revolution³⁶ many quality monographs have been published in the Czech language by recognized experts on Islam.³⁷ The events of the last decade, such as the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, 3/11/2004 on four commuter trains in Madrid and 7/7/2005 on London's underground and buses has significantly contributed to fears and anxieties regarding Islamic civilization and by association the Muslim population.

The media's role is very important in order to provide the Czech population with impartial and balanced information about Islam and Muslims. The Czech media often oversimplifies and poorly explains the important principles of the Islamic religion. They seem inclined to make dangerous generalizations and interpretations of negative and violent phenomena in the framework of the Islamic world. While the media simplification of some pillars of Islam is quite understandable, the trend of generalization in describing certain critical events relating to Muslims unnecessarily spreads fear among the majority population in countries having Muslim populations, large or small. This is, of course, valid with regard to the Czech Republic. For this reason it is no surprise that in the annual report of the Security Information Service (BIS), Counter Intelligence Service of the Czech Republic devotes one paragraph to the media.

There are several foreign imams who have been for some time now preaching the Koran to Muslims living in the Czech Republic, as there is not a graduate of any of the Islamic universities among the Czech Muslim community yet. None of the Islamic priests operating in the Czech Republic behaves radically. However, some foreign mass media, which provide not quite objective or incomplete information on domestic and global affairs, may initiate a radicalization of sorts among the Muslims living in the Czech Republic.³⁸

For an objective assessment of the events that influence the Islamic world, and consequently the Muslim minority in Europe, objective and essentially neutral media

coverage is necessary. Media which manage issues sensitively and conspicuously to avoid the pitfalls of dangerous benchmarking and meaningless prognosis on Huntington's topic of "clash of civilizations" are vital. Although this famous study is not short on its academic nature and in expert discussions it is an interesting topic of polemics, but in the media language has become a platitudinal cliché".³⁹

Given the current environment, it is not unreasonable to be concerned with Islamic radical thinking in Czech territory, but as of now, no imminent threat against the Czech Republic has been identified. It would not be surprising to find some Muslims living in the Czech Republic who are supporters of radical ideas and anti-western feeling. However, at this time no organized Islamic Group has been identified that might pose a serious risk to the Czech State. There is Arabic organized crime, which operates within the framework of criminal activities in various areas. The type of criminal activity is similar to that of illegal Chinese or Russian criminal syndicates. An incontrovertible connection between criminal activities and any Islamic extremist group has yet to be recorded.

This does not mean, however, that in the future such a connection might not develop. The higher level of engagement of the Czech Republic in NATO operations could be perceived by certain Islamic groups as controversial, which tends to bring increased risk. In comparison with the USA or other European countries such as France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom or Belgium, Czech foreign and military policies pose a much smaller risk of potential threats. Czech security services do not underestimate the potential threat and very closely monitor the security situation both within and also outside the Czech Republic. According to several recent annual reports

of the Security Information Service (BIS) no activities have been noted, which would implied a direct security threat resulting from activities of members of the local Islamic community, nor has there been any detectable manifestation of radicalization within the Islamic community.

One of the priorities that the Security Information Service was devoting a great deal of its attention to in 2008 was the fight against terrorism. In this respect, the mission of the Service was to collect and assess, in cooperation with other Czech security elements, information on potential spread of Islamic extremism and any potential operations of terrorist groups in Czech territory, and, in particular, to monitor and analyze everything that may pose a threat of preparations or even the execution of a terrorist attack. There will always be sites and places in the territory of the Czech Republic, which are, according to security services, potential targets of Islamic terrorists. Last year, our Service did not discover any confirmed and reliable information to the effect that someone was planning or preparing a terrorist attack in our territory.⁴⁰

Factors Countering the Spread of Islamic Extremism

There are several economic, historical, social, and cultural factors countering the spread of Islamic extremism in the Czech Republic. The majority of migration stems from economic reasons. Immigrants are seeking better economic living conditions and consider Western countries as affluent and affording opportunities. As a result the Czech Republic is not a first choice country for the majority of immigrants, including Muslims. According to the Central Population Register Record of the Ministry of Interior the population of the Czech Republic increased by 71.8 thousand in 2008 due to registered external migration. According to the data from Alien and Border Police there were 438.3 thousand foreigners, living legally in the Czech Republic as of 31 December 2008 and that represents 4.2% of population of the Czech Republic.⁴¹ The biggest foreign groupings represent citizens of Ukraine (132.0 thousand; 30.1% of total number of foreigners) and the Slovak Republic (76.0 thousand; 17.3%) followed by Vietnamese

citizens (60.3 thousand persons; 13.7%), Russians (27.2 thousand; 6.2%) and Polish (21.7 thousand; 5.0%).⁴²

Adequate assimilation of Muslim populations in the Czech Republic is one of the main reasons for the absence of Islamic extremism. The Czech Government annually evaluates cultural integration based on the governmental concept.⁴³ The absence of racist incidents within the majority population also contributes to this positive situation. Only a few incidents of racial discrimination perpetrated by ultra-right, radical extremists have been recorded.

Historically, people in Czech territory have displayed a high level of religious tolerance. Czechs consider religion to be a personal matter and thus they are relatively unconcerned and somewhat indifferent to the religious creed of others if practiced in privacy.⁴⁴ Some non-governmental Czech organizations (NGOs) include the promotion of tolerance as an inherent component of their mission.⁴⁵ NGOs projects counter intolerance and promote reconciliation. Their activities include intercultural educational programs, public debate and media monitoring.⁴⁶ NGOs efforts in this field are promoted and coordinated by the Czech government.

Unlike in Western Europe, economic and social crises do not particularly influence the Czech's Muslim population. In France and Belgium unemployment rates among the Muslim population are around 20%, the third generation Muslims in these countries face a jobless rate of up to 40%. To date in the Czech Republic the presence of Muslim extremist organizations, groups, and cells such as Al-Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah and the Muslim Brotherhood, have not been noted.⁴⁷ The Czech Muslim's scene is not homogenous, on the contrary it is very heterogeneous. Some activities

have been provided by AMRC intended to unify the varied Muslim groups, but so far without success. Traditionally, Muslims do not like any kind of registration; this means that many Czech Muslims, new Muslim immigrants, or foreign Muslims are not registered in any of the functioning Muslim organizations in the Czech Republic.

Generally, the majority of foreign Muslims coming to the Czech Republic are adapting well to Czech customs and culture and they are not overly strict in abiding by Islamic norms in relation to prohibition of consumption of alcohol, pork and other restrictions. This absence of adherent Islamists within the territory of the Czech Republic makes threats of physical punishment for non compliance with Islamic principles nearly non-existent. Western European countries however cannot say the same.

There are no fundamental imams who might spread radical ideas among the Muslim population.⁴⁸ The majority of foreign Muslim students in Czech's universities are not followers of any radical Islamist schools of thought.⁴⁹ The Czech's converts also contribute to the peaceable nature of Islam in the country; moreover they also comprise the leadership of Muslim organizations. The Czech Muslim organizations and their representatives traditionally tend to follow a peaceful form of Islam. The pivotal organization, the Association of the Muslim's Religious Communities and its leadership has established good and positive relationships with other non-extremist religious and governmental organizations. Representatives of the Muslim community and other religions, in particular Catholics and Protestants, have conducted regular exchanges of viewpoints.

After 9/11/2001 the AMRC conducted unprecedented activities. The Association has stressed the peaceful character of Islam and issued a statement in which it denounced the “craven terrorist attack.”⁵⁰ Czech Muslims also condemned the 7/7/2005 attacks in London.⁵¹ AMRC has also published proclamations of prominent Islamic authorities, who also damned the attacks as being irreconcilable with Islam. In 2006 when all Western Europe was shattered by violent Muslim protests against published cartoons depicting the prophet Mohammad in Danish newspapers, *Jyllands-Posten*, the Czech Muslim community reaction was moderate. About twenty Muslims protested against the caricatures in front of the Danish Embassy. Unlike so many demonstrations elsewhere in Western Europe, the Prague protest had a peaceful character. This atmosphere also prompted to a meeting with Czech Muslims organized by the Minister of the Interior. This event was welcomed and well accepted by the Muslim community. The activities of the Czech Muslim community are focused wholly on spiritual life. In the Czech Republic unlike Western Europe, no Muslim political party hitherto has been registered. In Belgium for example, the Muslim radical organization Parti de la Citionneté et Prosperité in a communal election got 8,000 votes, which means that constituency represents 4% of the Muslim population in Brussels.⁵²

The prudent foreign policy of the Czech State towards Muslim countries is one presumed cause for the lack of Islamic extremism within Czech territory. The Czech Republic has long-term strategic interests in the Middle East region. The Czech Republic's foreign policy in this region has always been guided by pragmatism; which means that the Czech Republic deals uniquely with each country in the region. Ideological considerations were not limiting even during the Cold War period. The

Czech Republic never surrendered the traditions of inter-war Czechoslovakia and continued to pursue quality and profitable economic and cultural cooperation with countries which belonged at that time to the "imperialist camp."⁵³ The Czech Republic had and still has a substantial advantage in that it never bore the stigma of being a western country with a colonial past like the Netherlands, Belgium or Italy. On the other hand Czechoslovakia never had a reputation as a "Moscow satellite" like the German Democratic Republic or Bulgaria.

Mutual cooperation and information sharing between the different Czech agencies, as well foreign intelligence and security services is conducted well.⁵⁴ The Czech Republic is also actively involved in the struggle against financing terrorism. The Republic is a member of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and the Transnational Union of Financial Intelligence Agencies (EGMONT).

Conclusion

The main objective of this strategic research paper is to explore, why the Czech Republic is virtually unique as far as Islamic extremism is concerned. In response to this question, the available evidence clearly suggests that the threat of Islamic radicalism within Czech territory, whether imported or originating from native Czech Muslims, is not presently at a significant level.

Western Europe, including the Czech Republic, will be confronted by radical Islam and associated issues for at least the next few decades. This is not a reason to panic, nor is it fair to look at the world through fear tainted glasses. Islamism represents a messianic ideology. Its proponents, in order to recruit new followers, are exploiting the quandary that many young and disaffected Muslims have associated with identity. Islam itself is not a threat to the democratic world. The radical, utopist, and totalitarian

ideology of Pan-Islamism or Neo-fundamentalism, remains a serious threat. It is not, however, a threat that exists within the Czech Republic at this time.

The absence of Islamic extremism in the Czech Republic is a specific result of prudent Czech policy partially mixed with propitious historical conditions. That the Czech Republic has no colonial past is decidedly a credit. Paradoxically, Czech joining NATO and EU did not tarnish the good reputation of the Czech Republic among the Czech Muslim population nor did affiliation negatively impact the Czech relationship within the external Muslim world. Loss of identity, the common denominator of Islamic extremism, is absent in the Czech Republic due to wise immigration policy. Muslims in the Czech Republic are well integrated into the society. The majority of Czech Muslims are graduates of Czech universities, they have good Czech language capability and they are economically prosperous. These factors cause unprecedented assimilation of Muslims in the Czech Republic which is in rather stark contrast elsewhere in Western Europe.

During the Cold War, Czechoslovak borders were closed to Muslim migration. Czechs, among the most secular Europeans, have only recently encountered accretive number of Muslims neighbors through immigration. Despite increased immigration after the 1989 collapse of the communist regime, the Czech Republic is more of a temporary stop for Muslim immigrants. However, massive, uncontrolled future migration could present a serious security threat to the Czech Republic. Therefore, continuous assessment is essential by the security services as to the disposition of the Muslim population within the Czech Republic.

The experience of the Czech Republic regarding integration of Muslim population into society is unique. The Muslim community in the Czech Republic is incomparably tiny in relation to Muslim populations in many other countries of the European Union. The historical, cultural, social and economic diversity in Europe is astonishing. Each European country has diametrically different conditions related to Muslim population. Therefore, applying the Czech methodology, particularly in Western European countries, will be difficult, but not impossible. The Czech experience may be also adaptable with certain limitations in former Soviet bloc countries because of similar historical developments with respect to circumstances of individual countries.

The security situation in the Czech Republic concerning the Islamist extremist threat at this time is calm, favorable and persistently stable. This advantage should not be overestimated however, and the far-sighted attitude of the Czech Republic should continue to remain vigilant for a similar threat in the future.⁵⁵

The most uncertain factor with the potential to significantly impact Islamic Extremism in the Czech Republic is probably the influx of immigrants. Will the Czech Republic be able to cope with these challenges in the future or will it follow the path of some Western European countries?

Endnotes

¹ Mgr. Krulík, Oldřich; Česká republika v boji proti terorismu (The Czech Republic in the Fight Against Terrorism), 2003, available from, http://web.mvcr.cz/archiv2008/rs_atlantic/data/files/analyza_2003.pdf, accessed 11 Nov 2009, p. 15.

² Islám v Evropě obohacení, nebo nebezpečí? (Islam in Europe an Enrichment or Peril?), Sborník textů, Kuras Benjamin, Müller Zdeněk, Pojar Tomáš, Weigl Jiří, Ostřanský Bronislav, Joch Roman, Kropáček Luboš, Sáňka Vladimír, CEP, č. 48/2006, available from <http://cepin.cz/docs/dokumenty/sbornik48.pdf>, accessed 29 Oct 2009, p. 13.

³ Kropáček, Luboš: Islámský fundamentalismus (Islamic Fundamentalism), Praha, Vyšehrad, 1996, pp. 31-32.

⁴ Roy, Olivier; Globalized Islam, the Search for a New Ummah, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004, p. 244.

⁵ Coalsaet, Rick; Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge in Europe, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 98-102.

⁶ Islám v Evropě obohacení, nebo nebezpečí? (Islam in Europe an Enrichment or Peril?), Sborník textů, Kuras Benjamin, Müller Zdeněk, Pojar Tomáš, Weigl Jiří, Ostřanský Bronislav, Joch Roman, Kropáček Luboš, Sáňka Vladimír, CEP, č. 48/2006, available from <http://cepin.cz/docs/dokumenty/sbornik48.pdf>, accessed 29 Oct 2009, p. 16.

⁷ Mareš, Miroslav; Perspektivy islamského extremismu v České republice (Prospects of Islamic extremism in the Czech Republic), 9 Oct 2007, available from <http://www.eurabia.cz/Articles/1303-perspektivy-islamskeho-extremismu-v-ceske-republice.aspx> accessed 10 Sep 2009, accessed 16 Sep 2009, p. 1.

⁸ Mareš, Miroslav, Terorismus v ČR (Terrorism in the Czech Republic), Centrum strategických studií, Brno, 2005. p. 245.

⁹ For example, link the theocratic Catholicism with fascism in Slovak clergy-fascism state 1939-1945. Fundamental Protestantism together with racism represent ideological base for some right oriented extremist organizations like Ku-Klux-Clan in USA. The Libyan dictator Muammar Al-Kaddafi propagates specific Islamism blended together with Marxism-Leninism.

¹⁰ Jan Lobkowicz from Hasistein (*1450 – †1517), Peregrinate to Holy Tomb, 1505. The book provides author's experience from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1493. Václav Budovec from Budov (*1551–†1621), Anti-Quran, 1614, Polemic publication about Islam and Christianity.

¹¹ Bečka, Jiří, Mendel, Miloš; Islám a české země (Islam and the Czech Lands), Praha, Votobia, 1998.

¹² 17. 9. 2004, available from <http://www.mkcr.cz/cz/cirkve-a-nabozenske-spolecnosti/odkazy/data-registrace-cirkvi-a-nabozenskych-spolecnosti-a-svazu-cirkvi-a-nabozenskych-spolecnosti-11263/>, accessed 27 Nov 2009.

¹³ Ústředí muslimských náboženských obcí (UMNO), Association of Muslim Religious Communities (AMRC), in Arabic Al-Ittihád Al-Islámí.

¹⁴ Přemysl Šilhavý (*19 Nov 1917 – † 14 March 2008), he converted to Islam in 1937 and took name Mohamed Ali. Přemysl Šilhavý studied at Islamic university Al-Ahzar in Cairo, Egypt. He was an only Czech Muslim who had studied at Islamic university in period of time 1938-1989. Available from http://www.lidovky.cz/zemrel-nejznamejsi-cesky-muslim-doq/ln_domov.asp?c=A080314_104823_ln_domov_bat; accessed 11 Nov 2009.

¹⁵ Czech Statistical Office, Population changes-year 2008, available from <http://www.czso.cz/eng/csu.nsf/informace/aoby031309.doc>, accessed 19 Dec 2009.

¹⁶ Pryce-Jones, David: Islamizace Evropy? (Islamization of Europe?), CEP, 14 Dec 2005, available from <http://cepin.cz/cze/prednaska.php?ID=733>, accessed 12 Oct 2009.

¹⁷ Tomáš Raděj, Česká muslimská obec v ČR a Ústředí muslimských náboženských obcí v České republice (The Czech Muslim community and Association of the Muslim's Religious communities), Rexter, 1 Nov 2003, available from <http://www.rexter.cz/wp-content/plugins/pdf/pdf.php?id=412>, p. 1, accessed 11 Nov 2009.

¹⁸ <http://www.islam.cz>; <http://www.muslim.cz>; <http://www.islamkultur.cz>; <http://muslim-info.cz>; <http://Al-islam.cz>; <http://islamweb.cz>; <http://mesita.cz>; <http://brnomuslim.cz>; <http://prahmuslim.cz>.

¹⁹ Schneider, Jiří; Muslim Minorities and Czech Society, 2007, available from <http://www.policy.hu/ipf/policyperspectives/E13-JS-CzechSociety.pdf>, accessed 28 January 2010, p.134-135.

²⁰ Svět Islámu na pozadí posledních událostí (The Islamic World in Light of Recent Events), 2006, available from www.army.cz/assets/files/8244/bulletin-chem.pdf, accessed 9 Oct 2009, p. 3.

²¹ Roy, Olivier; Globalized Islam, the Search for a New Ummah, Columbia University Press, New York, 2004, p. 244.

²² Ibid p. 143.

²³ Christopher Caldwell, Reflection on the Revolution in Europe: Immigration, Islam, and the West, Doubleday, 2009, p. 270.

²⁴ Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs; Updated Concept of Immigrant Integration, 2005, available from <http://www.cizinci.cz/clanek.php?id=35&lg=1>, accessed 4 Nov 2009.

²⁵ Mareš, Miroslav; Perspektivy islamského extremismu v České republice (Prospects for Islamic Extremism in the Czech Republic), 9 Oct 2007, available from <http://www.eurabia.cz/Articles/1303-perspektivy-islamskeho-extremismu-v-ceske-republice.aspx> accessed 10 Sep 2009, accessed 16 Sep 2009, p. 4.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 3.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 4.

²⁸ Mareš, Miroslav, Terorismus v ČR (Terrorism in the Czech Republic), Centrum strategických studií, Brno, 2005. p. 263.

²⁹ Available from <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/jewpop.html>, accessed 10 Jan 2010.

³⁰ Available from <http://www.fzo.cz>, accessed 10 Jan 2010.

³¹ Svět Islámu na pozadí posledních událostí (The Islamic World in Light of Recent Events), 2006, available from www.army.cz/assets/files/8244/bulletin-chem.pdf, accessed 9 Oct 2009, p.6.

³² Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic; Strategy for Fighting Extremism Year 2009, available from <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/article/documents-and-reports-issued-by-the-ministry-of-the-interior.aspx>, accessed 4 Nov 2009.

³³ Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic; Information on the Issue of Extremism in the Czech Republic in 2007, available from <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/article/documents-and-reports-issued-by-the-ministry-of-the-interior.aspx>, accessed 4 Nov 2009.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Annual Report of the Security Information Service (BIS) for 2008, available from <http://www.bis.cz/n/ar2008en.pdf>, accessed 10 Sep 2009, p. 4.

³⁶ 17th November 1989.

³⁷ Kropáček, Luboš.; Blízký východ na přelomu tisíciletí (Middle East at the Turn of the Millennium), Vyšehrad, Praha 1999; Kropáček, L.; Islámský fundamentalismus (Islamic Fundamentalism), Vyšehrad, Praha 1996; Mendel, M.; Islámská výzva (Islamic Challenge), Atlantis, Brno 1994; Mendel, M.; Džihád, Atlantis, Brno 1997; Mareš, Miroslav; Terorismus v ČR (Terrorism in the Czech Republic), Centrum Strategických Studií, Brno, 2005.

³⁸ Annual Report of the Security Information Service (BIS) for 2008, available from <http://www.bis.cz/n/ar2008en.pdf>, accessed 10 Sep 2009, p. 3.

³⁹ Tomáš Raděj, Česká muslimská obec v ČR a Ústředí muslimských náboženských obcí v České republice (The Czech Muslim Community and the Association of Muslim's Religious Communities), Rexter, 1 Nov 2003, available from <http://www.rexter.cz/wp-content/plugins/pdfder/pdf.php?id=412>, accessed 11 Nov 2009.

⁴⁰ Security Information Service, Annual report 2008, available from <http://www.bis.cz/n/ar2008en.pdf>, accessed 10 Sep 2009.

⁴¹ The Czech Republic had 10.5 million citizens as of 30 September 2009. Number of foreigners living legally in the Czech Republic is in addition to number of Czech citizens.

⁴² Czech Statistical Office, Population changes-year 2008, available from <http://www.czso.cz/eng/csu.nsf/informace/aoby031309.doc>, accessed 19 Dec 2009.

⁴³ Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs; Updated Concept of Immigrant Integration, 2005, available from <http://www.cizinci.cz/clanek.php?id=35&lg=1>, accessed 4 Nov 2009.

⁴⁴ In North Bohemia town of Teplice, protests prevented building of new mosque financed by an Arabic sponsor.

⁴⁵ NGOs-People in Need, Forum 2000, Prague Multicultural Centre, Youth for Intercultural Understanding.

⁴⁶ The activities of NGO are available on following web pages: <http://www.forum2000.cz>; <http://www.varianty.cz>; (<http://www.mkc.cz>; <http://www.osmip.cz>).

⁴⁷ Svět Islámu na pozadí posledních událostí (The Islamic World in Light of Recent Events), 2006, available from www.army.cz/assets/files/8244/bulletin-chem.pdf, accessed 9 Oct 2009, p.4.

⁴⁸ Security Information Service, Annual report 2008, available <http://www.bis.cz/n/ar2008en.pdf>, accessed 10 Sep 2009.

⁴⁹ Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic; Information on the Issue of Extremism In the Czech Republic In 2007, available from <http://www.mvcr.cz/mvcren/article/documents-and-reports-issued-by-the-ministry-of-the-interior.aspx>, accessed 4 Nov 2009.

⁵⁰ Security Information Service, Annual Report 2008, available from <http://www.bis.cz/n/2002-06-04-vyrocnizprava-2001.html>, accessed 10 Sep 2009, § 10.

⁵¹ Available from <http://www.cb.cz/main/cs/content/document/view/380>, accessed 30 Nov 2009.

⁵² Randák, Karel; Evropa a islám v kontextu dění kolem karikatur proroka Mohameda (Europe and Islam in the Context of Events After Publishing of Cartoons of Prophet Mohamed), briefing of the director of the Foreign Intelligence Service of the Czech Republic to the Parliament of the Czech Republic Chamber of Deputies, Vystoupení ředitele ÚZSI Karla Randáka na zasedání Zahraničního výboru Poslanecké sněmovny PČR na téma Evropa a islám na pozadí událostí kolem karikatur proroka Mohameda, 22 Feb 2006, available from <http://www.uzsi.cz/cz/evropa-a-islam-v-kontextu-deni-kolem-karikatur-proroka-mohameda.html>, accessed 30 Oct 2009.

⁵³ Iran till 1979, Afghanistan till 1978, Tunis, Morocco, Kuwait, Sadat's Egypt.

⁵⁴ Brigadier general, Eng. Miroslav Krejčík, Director of Czech Military Intelligence, interview, 2006, available from www.army.cz/assets/files/8244/bulletin-chem.pdf, accessed 9 Oct 2009, p.8.

⁵⁵ Brigadier general, Eng. Miroslav Krejčík, Director of Czech Military Intelligence, interview, 2006, available from www.army.cz/assets/files/8244/bulletin-chem.pdf, accessed 9 Oct 2009, p.8.